

Lushootseed

Lushootseed (also: **xʷəłšúcid**, **dxʷləšúcid**, **Puget Salish**, **Puget Sound Salish** or **Skagit-Nisqually**) is a language made up of a dialect continuum of several Salish tribes of modern-day Washington state. Lushootseed is one of the Coast Salish languages. The latter is one of two main divisions of the Salishan language family.

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Phonology

Lushootseed has a complex consonantal phonology and 4 vowel phonemes. Along with more common voicing and labialization contrasts, Lushootseed has a plain-glottalic contrast, which is realized as laryngealized with sonorants, ejective with voiceless stops or fricatives.

Consonants

Lushootseed	
Skagit-Nisqually	
<i>dxʷləšúcid</i>	
Native to	Canada, United States
Region	Southern British Columbia into Northern Washington
Ethnicity	Duwamish, Snohomish, Suquamish, Sammamish, Snoqualmie, Puyallup, Sahewamish, Stillaguamish, Skagit, Nisqually
Extinct	no fully fluent native speakers as of 2008 ^[1] some second-language speakers
Language family	Salishan <ul style="list-style-type: none">Coast Salish<ul style="list-style-type: none">Central<ul style="list-style-type: none">Lushootseed
Language codes	
ISO 639-3	Variously: <div>lut – Lushootseed</div> <div>s1h – Southern Puget Sound Salish</div> <div>ska – Skagit (covered by [lut])</div> <div>sno – Snohomish (covered by [lut])</div>
Glottolog	lush1251 (http://glottolog.org/resource/language/id/lush1251) ^[2]

Lushootseed consonants^{[3][4]}

		<u>Labial</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>		<u>(Alveolo-)palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>		<u>Uvular</u>		<u>Glottal</u>
			<u>plain</u>	<u>sibilant</u>		<u>plain</u>	<u>labio-velar</u>	<u>plain</u>	<u>labio-uvular</u>	
<u>Stop</u>	<u>voiced</u>	b	d	dz	dʒ	g	g ^w			
	<u>voiceless</u>	p	t	ts	tʃ	k	k ^w	q	q ^w	
	<u>glottalized</u>	pʼ	tʼ	tsʼ	tʃʼ	kʼ	kʼ ^w	qʼ	qʼ ^w	ʔ
	<u>lateral</u>		tɬʼ							
<u>Fricative</u>			ɬ	s	ʃ		x ^w	χ	χ ^w	h
<u>Approximant</u>	<u>plain</u>		l		j		w			
	<u>laryngealized</u>		ɭ		ʝ		ɰ			

The nasals [m], [ɱ], [n], and [ɳ] may appear in some speech styles and words as variants of /b/ and /d/.^[3]

Vowels

Lushootseed vowels^[4]

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
<u>High</u>	i~ɪ		ʉ~u
<u>Mid</u>		ə	
<u>Low</u>			a~ɑ

Syntax

Lushootseed can be considered a relatively agglutinating language, given its high number of morphemes, including a large number of lexical suffixes. Word order is fairly flexible, however, it is generally considered to be verb-subject-object (VSO).^[5]

Lushootseed is capable of creating grammatically correct sentences that contain only a verb, with no subject or object. All information beyond the action is to be understood by context. This can be demonstrated in *ʔu ʔəy'dub* '[someone] managed to find [someone/something]'.^[6] Sentences which contain no verb at all are also common, as Lushootseed has no copula. An example of a sentence like this is *stab əwə ti ʔiɬ* 'What [is] that?'.^[7]

Despite its general status as VSO, Lushootseed can be rearranged to be subject-verb-object (SVO) and verb-object-subject (VOS). Doing so does not modify the words themselves, but requires the particle *ʔə* to mark the change. The exact nature of this particle is the subject of some debate.

Prepositions in Lushootseed are almost entirely handled by one word, *ʔal*, which can mean 'on, above, in, beside, around' among a number of potential other meanings. They come before the object they reference, much like in English. Examples of this can be found in the following sentences:

- stab əwə ti ʔiɬ ʔal tə stulək^w* 'What is that **in the river**?'
- ʔuyayus ti dbad ʔal tudiʔ* 'My Father is working **over there**.'

3. *šəqabac ʔal tədqəl'qəlub* 'On top of the bed.' (this example is interesting as *šəqabac* actually means 'on top of a large/bulky object' on its own, but still contains the *ʔal* preposition)

Determiners usually come before a noun they belong to, and have two possible genders "masculine" and "feminine". However, in a sentence reordered to become SVO, such as *sqʷəbayʔ ti ʔučalatəb ʔə ti ʔiɬ wiw'su* 'The dog is what the children chased' the determiner for *sqʷəbayʔ* 'dog' comes after the noun, instead of before it. Gender primarily manifests in the addition of an -s- within the determiner, generally following immediately after the first letter of the word, i.e. *ti ʔiɬ* 'that' becomes *tsi ʔiɬ*, *te* 'the, a' becomes *tse*, *ti* 'this' becomes *tsi*,

Lushootseed has four subject pronouns: *čəd* 'I' (1st-person singular), *čəɬ* 'we' (1st-person plural), *čəxʷ* 'you' (2nd-person singular), and *čələp* 'you folks' (2nd-person plural). It does not generally refer to the third person in any way. The subject pronoun always comes in the second position in the sentence. For example *dxʷləbiʔ čəxʷ ʔu* 'Are you Lummi?' as compared to *xʷiʔ čəd lədxʷləbiʔ* 'I am not Lummi'. Here, negation takes the first position, the subject pronoun takes the second, and Lummi is pushed to the end of the sentence.^[6]

Negation in Lushootseed takes the form of an adverb *xʷiʔ* 'no, none, nothing' which always comes at the beginning of a sentence that is to be negated. It is constructed in two possible ways, one for negatives of existence, and one for negatives of identity. If taking the form of a negative of identity, a proclitic *lə-* must be added to the sentences on the next adverb. If there are no further adverbs in the sentence, the proclitic attaches to the head word of the predicate, as in the sentence *xʷiʔ čəxʷ sixʷ ləbakʷɬ* 'Don't get hurt again'.^[6]

Related languages and current status

Lushootseed, like its neighbour Twana, is in the Southern Coast Salish subgroup of the Salishan family of languages. The language was spoken by many Puget Sound region peoples, including the Duwamish, Steilacoom, Suquamish, Squaxin Island Tribe, Muckleshoot, Snoqualmie, Nisqually, and Puyallup in the south and the Snohomish, Stillaguamish, Skagit, and Swinomish in the north.

Ethnologue quotes a source published in 1990 (and therefore presumably reflecting the situation in the late 1980s), according to which there were 60 fluent speakers of Lushootseed, evenly divided between the northern and southern dialects.^[8] On the other hand, the Ethnologue's list of United States languages also lists, alongside Lushootseed's 60 speakers, 100 speakers for Skagit, 107 for Southern Puget Sound Salish, and 10 for Snohomish (a dialect on the boundary between the northern and southern varieties).^[8] Some sources given for these figures, however, go back to the 1970s when the language was less critically endangered. Linguist Marianne Mithun has collected more recent data on the number of speakers of various Native American languages, and could document that by the end of the 1990s there were only a handful of elders left who spoke Lushootseed fluently. The language was extensively documented and studied by linguists with the aid of tribal elder Vi Hilbert, d. 2008, who was the last speaker with a full native command of Lushootseed.^[1] There are efforts at reviving the language, and instructional materials have been published.

Language revitalization

As of 2013, the Tulalip Tribes' Lushootseed Language Department teaches classes in Lushootseed,^{[9][10]} and its website offers a Lushootseed "phrase of the week" with audio.^[11] The Tulalip Montessori School also teaches Lushootseed to young children.^[12]

Wa He Lut Indian School (<http://www.wahelutindianschool.org/>) teaches Lushootseed to Native elementary school children in their Native Language and Culture program.

As of 2013, an annual Lushootseed conference is held at Seattle University.^[13] A course in Lushootseed language and literature has been offered at Evergreen State College.^[14] Lushootseed has also been used as a part of environmental history courses at Pacific Lutheran University.^[1] It has been spoken during the annual Tribal Canoe Journey (Tribal Journeys) that take place throughout the Salish Sea.

There are also efforts within the Puyallup Tribe. Their website and social media, aimed at anyone interested in learning the language, are updated often.^[15]

In the summer of 2016, the first ever adult immersion program in Lushootseed was offered at the University of Washington's Tacoma campus. It was sponsored by The Puyallup Tribal Language Program in partnership with University of Washington Tacoma and its School of Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences.^[16] A similar program is scheduled to be offered in August 2019, with the instructors Danica Sterud Miller, Assistant Professor of American Indian Studies at the University of Washington Tacoma, and Zalmay Zahir, a PhD student of theoretical linguistics at the University of Oregon.^[17]



Bust of Chief Seattle with accompanying text in Lushootseed:
*ti šišəg wʔ g wəl al ti ʔə ʔəx w sg w a ʔčəl
səx w əsləlilčəl si ʔəl dəg w j g wəl
liiiləx w d ʔiiləd cəlul'ul' cəl
ʔəsləxədx w ti g w aaləpu*

Subdivisions

Lushootseed consists of two dialect groups which can be further divided into subdialects:

■ Northern Lushootseed or Lushootseed (Northern Puget Sound Salish)

- Snohomish (Sdoh-doh-hohbsh or Sdohobich) (spoke the *Sduhubš* / *Snohomish* dialect, a transitional dialect between Northern and Southern Lushootseed; today as part of the Tulalip Tribes of Washington they developed the *dx w ləšucid* or *Tulalip Lushootseed* dialect)
- Stillaguamish (Stoluck-wa-mish River Tribe) (spoke a separate dialect; today many are part of the Tulalip Tribes of Washington and developed the *dx w ləšucid* or *Tulalip Lushootseed* dialect)
- *Skagit, Ska ʔət-Swinomish* or *Lower Skagit-Swinomish dialects*
 - Lower Skagit (Whidbey Island Skagit) (on Skagit River and on Whidbey Island, subdialect of *Ska ʔət-Swinomish*)
 - Upper Skagit^[18] (along upper Skagit River, subdialect of *Ska ʔət-Swinomish*)
 - Swinomish (at the mouth of Skagit Rivers and northern part of Whidbey Island, sometimes considered a Lower Skagit band, subdialect of *Ska ʔət-Swinomish*)
 - Kikiallus (Ki Ki Allus or Kikyalus) (between Lower Skagit and Swinomish lands, sometimes considered a Lower Skagit band, *Kikiallus* subdialect of *Ska ʔət-Swinomish*)
- Sauk-Suiattle (Sah-Ku-Me-Hu) (on Sauk River and Suiattle River, *Sui 'a x bix w* or *Sauk-Suiattle* dialect)

- **Southern Lushootseed or Whulshootseed / Twulshootseed (Southern Puget Sound Salish)**
 - Skykomish (Skai-whamish) (originally considered a subdivision of the Snoqualmies,
 - Snoqualmie (S-duk^w albix^w / Sduqwalbixw) (along Tolt River and Snoqualmie River, spoke the *Sduq^w albix^w* or *Snoqualmie* subdialect, often grouped as *Tx^w əlšucid* or *Twulshootseed* local dialect)
 - Steilacoom
 - Suquamish
 - Duwamish
 - Muckleshoot (bəqəłišuɬucid) (on Green and White rivers)
 - Puyallup (Spuyaləpabš or S'Puyalupubsh) (lived throughout the river basin of the Puyallup River, at Gig Harbor and Wollochet Bay and on Vashon Island, spoke the *Tx^w əlšucid* or *Twulshootseed* local dialect)
 - Nisqually ('Susqually'absh or sḡ^w ali 'abš)
 - Sahewamish
 - Snohomish (Sdoh-doh-hohbsh) (around the Puget Sound area of Washington, north of Seattle)
 - Squaxin Island Tribe

Alphabet

According to work published by Vi Hilbert and other Lushootseed language specialists, Lushootseed uses a morphophonemic writing system meaning that it is a phonemic alphabet which changes to reflect the pronunciation such as when an affix is introduced. The chart below is based on the Lushootseed Dictionary. Typographic variations such as p' and ḡ do not indicate phonemic distinctions.

Letter	Letter Name	IPA	Notes
ʔ	Glottal stop	/ʔ/	Question mark (?) used alternatively
a		/a/	
b		/b/	
b'	Glottalized b	/b̥/	Rare, non-initial
c		/t͡s/	
c'	Glottalized c	/t͡s̥'/	
č	c-wedge	/t͡ɕ/	
č'	Glottalized c-wedge	/t͡ɕ̥'/	
d		/d/	
d ^z	d-raised-z	/d͡z/	
ə	<u>Schwa</u>	/ə/	
g		/g/	
g ^w	g-raised-w	/g̟w/	Labialized counterpart of /g/
h		/h/	
i		/i̥~i/	
ǰ	j-wedge	/d͡ʒ/	
k		/k/	
k'	Glottalized k	/k̥'/	
k ^w	k-raised-w	/k̟w/	Labialized counterpart of /k/
k' ^w	Glottalized k-raised-w	/k̥̟w'/	Labialized counterpart of /k' /
l		/l/	
l'	Strictured l	/l̝'/	
ɭ	Barred-l	/ɭ̥/	
λ'	Glottalized barred-lambda	/t͡ɬ̥'/	
m		/m/	
m'	Strictured m	/m̝/	<u>Laryngealized</u> bilabial nasal
n		/n/	
n'	Strictured n	/n̝/	Laryngealized alveolar nasal
p		/p/	
p'	Glottalized p	/p̥'/	
q		/q/	
q'	Glottalized q	/q̥'/	
q ^w	q-raised-w	/q̟w/	Labialized counterpart of /q/
q' ^w	Glottalized q-raised-w	/q̥̟w'/	Labialized counterpart of /q' /

s		/s/	
š	s-wedge	/ʃ/	
t		/t/	
t'	Glottalized t	/t' /	
u		/u~u/	
w		/w~u/	
w'	Strictured w	/w/	Laryngealized high back rounded <u>glide</u>
x ^w	x-w	/x ^w /	Labialized counterpart of /x/
ǰ	x-wedge	/ǰ/	
ǰ ^w	Rounded x-wedge	/ǰ ^w /	Labialized counterpart of /ǰ/
y		/j/	
y'	Strictured y	/j/	Laryngealized high front unrounded glide

See the [external links](#) below for resources.

Some vocabulary

The Lushootseed language originates from the coastal region of Northwest Washington State and the Southwest coast of Canada. There are words in the Lushootseed language which are related to the environment and the fishing economy that surrounded the Salish tribes. The following tables show different words from different Lushootseed dialects relating to the salmon fishing and coastal economies.

Southern Lushootseed Salmonoid Vocabulary	
sčədadx	a word that covers all Pacific salmon and some species of trout.
sačəb	Chinook or King
c'uwad	Sockeye salmon
skʷəxʷic	coho salmon
łxʷay'	chum salmon
hədu	the pink salmon
skʷawəl'	Steelhead
pədkʷəxʷic	coho season
sčay'ay'	gills
łičaʔa	nets
łičaʔalikʷ	net fishing
ʔalil tiʔił łusqíl	spawning season
skʷəłt	tailfin
ʔaltəd	fillet knife
sq'wəlus	kippered dried salmon
səlusqíd	fish heads
qəlǎ	dried salmon eggs
łəbłəbqʷ	fresh eggs
słuʔb	dried chum
sxʷudʒəʔdaliłəd	fish with a large amount of body fat
xʷšabus	Lightly smoked

Northern Lushootseed Salmonoid Vocabulary	
sʔuladxʷ	a word that covers all Pacific salmon and some species of trout.
yubəč	Chinook or King
scəqiʔ	sockeye salmon
łxʷayʔ	chum salmon
skʷəxʷic	silver salmon

Northern Lushootseed Aquatic Vocabulary	
qal' qaləxič	blackfish - killer whale
čəx ^w əlu?	grey whale
sqał'	otter
suḥqs	seal
stəq ^w	beaver
sqibk ^w	octopus
ʔaləšək	Western pond turtle
waqwaq	frog
sk ^w ici	sea urchin
təʃabac	sea cucumber
q ^w əlači?	star fish
bəsq ^w	crab
ʔaɬig ^w s	Rock Cod
ḥuaý	flounder
kəlapx ^w əlč	jelly fish
sʔaχ ^w u?	clam
tulq ^w	mussel
λuχ ^w λuχ ^w	oyster
cubcub	barnacle
sχaʔa?	little neck steam clams
x ^w čičiqs	large native oyster
g ^w idəq	geoduck
stx ^w ub	butter clam
sχəpab	cockle clam
haʔəc	horse clam
čičəlpəyaqid / puʔps	periwinkle
sčawy?	any seashell
ʔuk ^w s	large chiton
χald	small chiton

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Language learning materials

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External links

- Puyallup Tribal Language Program (<http://www.puyalluptriballanguage.org/>)
 - The Tulalip Lushootseed Department's Website (<https://www.tulaliplushootseed.com>)
 - Keyboards and fonts for typing in Lushootseed (<https://www.tulaliplushootseed.com/software-and-fonts/>)
 - Interactive alphabet app through the Tulalip Lushootseed Department (<https://www.tulaliplushootseed.com/alphabet/>)
 - "History professor helps keep local Native American language alive" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20070704144650/http://www.plu.edu/scene/issue/2003/summer/lifemind.html>) by Drew Brown for PLU Scene Magazine
 - The Lushootseed Peoples of Puget Sound Country (<http://content.lib.washington.edu/aipnw/thrush.html>)
 - Lushootseed Research (<http://lushootseed.org/>)
 - Dr. David Beck, Salishan Language specialist (<https://www.ualberta.ca/~dbeck/>)
 - Developing a corpus for Lushootseed (<https://web.archive.org/web/20130627045411/http://corpus.byu.edu/aac12008/ppt/87.pdf>) (archived)
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